

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

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USNMR SHAPE

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S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0079

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: FURTHER NAC GUIDANCE ON  
ASSOCIATED MEASURES

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP HAS AGREED THAT AT  
LEAST ONE ALLIED PLENARY STATEMENT IN THIS ROUND OF  
NEGOTIATION SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES;  
THAT IS, TO ALLIED POSITION ON STABILIZING MEASURES,  
VERIFICATION, FLANK SECURITY AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION.  
PROBABLE DATE FOR DELIVERING SUCH STATEMENT IS JULY 4.  
WE BELIEVE IT MOST DESIRABLE FOR ALLIES TO USE THIS  
STATEMENT AS A VEHICLE FOR INTRODUCING ADDITIONAL  
MATERIAL INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS IF NAC CAN AGREE ON  
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NEW GUIDANCE IN TIME. FOR PLANNING PURPOSES, DELE-

GATION WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHETHER FURTHER WASHINGTON CONTRIBUTIONS, PARTICULARLY ON VERIFICATION AND ON EXCEPTIONS TO FORCE CEILINGS FOR EXERCISES (I.E. PARA 29) CAN BE EXPECTED IN TIME FOR NAC TO DEVELOP GUIDANCE FOR THE AD HOC GROUP BY THE END OF JUNE. END SUMMARY.

2. IT IS CONSENSUS OF THE AD HOC GROUP THAT ALLIES SHOULD ADDRESS ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN A MORE CONCRETE WAY DURING PRESENT ROUND OF VIENNA TALKS OR RISK IMPLICATION TO EAST THAT ALLIES THEMSELVES DO NOT TAKE SERIOUSLY THIS PART OF WESTERN NEGOTIATING PROGRAM.

3. THE AD HOC GROUP'S TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF PLENARY STATEMENTS CALLS FOR A PRESENTATION ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES JULY 4. IT WOULD BE HIGHLY ADVANTAGEOUS IN TERMS OF MAINTAINING ALLIED INITIATIVE IN THIS AREA, AND WOULD HELP TO LAY THE GROUND WORK FOR SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN THE FUTURE, IF ALLIES COULD USE JULY 4 PLENARY STATEMENT AS A VEHICLE FOR INTRODUCING NEW SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL ON STABILIZING MEASURES. IN PARTICULAR, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PRESENT CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH EXCEPTIONS TO FORCE CEILINGS WILL BE REQUIRED FOR PURPOSES OF EXERCISES. WE GATHER THAT ONCE A US CONTRIBUTION IS RECEIVED, THE SPC AND NAC COULD CLEAR GUIDANCE TO THE AHG THAT WOULD ALLOW ALLIES TO MAKE EXPLICIT THE CONCEPTS ALREADY PRESENTED IN GENERAL TERMS, THAT POST-REDUCTION US AND SOVIET FORCE LEVELS WILL HAVE TO BE RESPECTED AND THAT THIS IN TURN WILL REQUIRE EXCEPTIONS FOR SUCH PURPOSES AS EXERCISES AND ROTATIONS, AND CONSEQUENTLY THAT MOVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES OF US AND SOVIET FORCES MUST BE LIMITED IN CERTAIN WAYS. WHEN THESE CONCEPTS WERE LINKED TO THE FOUR CONCRETE MEASURES ALREADY APPROVED BY NAC (PER GUIDANCE IN STATE 038837) IN MARCH, THEY PROVED TO BE THE ONLY ASPECT OF ALLIED STABILIZING MEASURES PROPOSAL WHICH SOVIETS ADMITTED MIGHT BE WORTH FURTHER DISCUSSION. NOT TO PUT FORWARD FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE

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MATERIAL ON THESE MEASURES, WHICH THE ALLIES HAVE ARGUED ARE A PRACTICAL NECESSITY UNDER ANY REDUCTION AGREEMENT, AND IN WHICH THE EAST HAS SHOWN AT LEAST MILD INTEREST, MIGHT SUGGEST TO EAST THAT THE ALLIES THEMSELVES HAD LOST INTEREST IN THEM. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL, THEREFORE, FOR WASHINGTON PROVIDE A CONTRIBUTION TO FURTHER DISCUSSION IN NATO OF EXCEPTIONS WITH A VIEW TO DEVELOPING NEW GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP IN TIME

FOR USE ON JULY 4. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL EVEN TO HAVE AN ILLUSTRATIVE FIGURE FOR EXCEPTIONS PERHAPS IN THE 10,000 TO 25,000 RANGE.

4. WHILE RECOGNIZING THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING AN ALLIED CONSENSUS ON VERIFICATION, WE ALSO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF THE ALLIES HAD SOMETHING MORE SUBSTANTIVE TO SAY ON THIS TOPIC IN THE CURRENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. SO FAR, IN VIEW OF THE LACK OF SUBSTANTIVE GUIDANCE FROM THE NAC, AND THE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AMONG THE ALLIES, THE ALLIES IN VIENNA HAVE BEEN CONFINED TO VAGUE GENERALITIES AS TO THE DESIRABILITY OF EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION, INCLUDING INSPECTION. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE ALLIES TO MAINTAIN THE INITIATIVE IN THIS AREA BY PUTTING A MORE SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSAL ONTO THE TABLE. LATEST GERMAN PAPER (BONN 9202) MAY PROVIDE BASIS FOR WORKABLE COMPROMISE, AT LEAST TO EXTENT OF PROVIDING A PARAGRAPH OF GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP WHICH COULD BE DRAWN ON IN PREPARING PLENARY STATEMENT.

5. WE UNDERSTAND WASHINGTON IS NOT YET PREPARED TO ADDRESS THE SUBJECT OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION IN ANY DETAIL. WE BELIEVE THAT NO NEW GUIDANCE IS NEEDED AT THIS TIME, AND THAT THE SUBJECT MIGHT BE BETTER DEALT WITH AT A LATER STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AFTER BASIC AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS HAS BEEN REACHED AND IT HAS BECOME CLEARER WHAT ISSUES WILL NEED TO BE DEALT WITH UNDER THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION RUBRIC. IN PLENARY STATEMENT ALLIES CAN SIMPLY FOLLOW LINES OF THEIR NOV 22 OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS, AND SAY THAT MEASURES ARE NEEDED TO ENSURE THAT AGREEMENT IS NOT CIRCUMVENTED.

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6. OUR COMMENTS ON THE SUBJECT OF FLANK SECURITY ARE CONTAINED IN MBFR VIENNA 0075.RESOR

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